

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 COME-00 DOE-11 SOE-02
SP-02 USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-06
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 016396

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: ECON, PDEV, PDIP, MNUC, SF, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH GOVERNMENT POSITION ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS
AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

1. FOLLOWING IS ROUGH TRANSLATION OF WORKING PAPER
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LEFT WITH AF/S BY FRENCH EMBOFF (SOUCHET) JANUARY 19,
SETTING FORTH THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON
THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS WITH REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA.

2. BEGIN TEXT: IT SEEMS TO US PREFERABLE JUST NOW TO
PAUSE IN ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

THERE IS REASON TO THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL PURSUE THEIR OFFENSIVE, LAUNCHED DURING THE LAST SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WITH THE OBJECT OF OBTAINING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST PRETORIA.

HOWEVER, IT SEEMS TO US INDISPENSIBLE TO AVOID THE ADOPTION OF SANCTIONS ONE AT A TIME UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE AFRICANS.

IT APPEARS TO US, THEREFORE, USEFUL TO OUTLINE FOR OUR PARTNERS THE BROAD LINES OF OUR POSITION ON THE QUESTION

OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WITH REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA.

WE ARE EQUALLY CONVINCED OF THE NEED FOR THE FIVE TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEFINE A COMMON ATTITUDE ON THIS QUESTION.

TWO PRINCIPLES, IT SEEMS TO US, MUST GUIDE OUR ATTITUDE AT THE PRESENT MOMENT.

ANY SANCTIONS EVENTUALLY IMPOSED SHOULD BEAR ONLY ON THE FUTURE, THAT IS TO SAY NOT CONCERN THE TOTALITY OF OPERATIONS ALREADY BEGUN (GUARANTEES ALREADY MADE, CONTRACTS IN PROCESS, INVESTMENTS). FURTHERMORE, THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO CERTAIN SECTORS, IN ORDER TO AVOID SITUATIONS WHICH WOULD PENALIZE IN A DISCRIMINATORY WAY ONE OF THE ECONOMIC PARTNERS OF SOUTH AFRICA MORE THAN THE OTHERS.

WE BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO EXAMINE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE POSSIBLE COST OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, AS WELL AS THE CONSEQUENCES, OF ECONOMIC MEASURES OF BROAD SCOPE SUCH AS THOSE URGED BY THE AFRICANS (ABOLITION OF INCENTIVES FOR TRADE AND ASSISTANCE TO INVESTMENT, PROHIBITION OF TRANSFERS OF CAPITAL, EITHER FROM EXISTING INVESTMENTS OR NEW LOANS).

TO COVER THE POINT AGAIN, WE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO OPPOSE AN ORIENTATION OF THE WORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TOWARDS MEASURES OF A SECTORAL CHARACTER, WHETHER THEY HAD EFFECT IMMEDIATELY (PROHIBITION OF CIVIL NUCLEAR COOPERATION) OR OVER THE LONGER TERM (AN OIL EMBARGO; THE PREDICTABLE REVERSAL OF SUCH A MEASURE COULD ONLY INCITE THE AFRICANS TO AN ACTION AGAINST THE ENERGY SUBSTITUTES FOR OIL, INCLUDING NUCLEAR ENERGY),

PUTTING IN CONFLICT THE CONTRACT ALREADY ENTERED INTO
CONCERNING THE KOEBERG POWER STATION.

IN WHATEVER CASE, WE WOULD NOT ENVISAGE SANCTIONS
CONCERNING CIVIL NUCLEAR COOPERATION EXCEPT IN THE
FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS CONCERNING ALL
ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA (INCLUDING
THEREFORE CONTRACTS ALREADY BEING FULFILLED).

CONCERNING MORE PARTICULARLY THE MANDATORY OIL EMBARGO
REQUESTED BY THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, WE BELIEVE MOREOVER THAT SUCH A MEASURE COULD
NOT HAVE MUCH VALUE IN BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR UNLESS

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IT WERE RENDERED EFFECTIVE BY A BLOCKADE OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN PORTS. M. RIVERS, AUTHOR OF THE REPORT "THE
OIL CONSPIRACY," RECOGNIZED THIS MOREOVER WHEN HE WAS
HEARD BY THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE IN JULY 1977, AND THE
PRECEDENT OF THE PROVISION OF OIL TO RHODESIA VIA
PORTUGUESE MOZAMBIQUE (CF. THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION
DATED APRIL 9, 1966, INSTITUTING THE BLOCKADE OF BEIRA)
DEMONSTRATES THIS EQUALLY. TO ACCEPT AN OIL EMBARGO
WOULD BE, THEREFORE, TO LEND ONESELF TO A DANGEROUS
PROCESS LEADING LOGICALLY TO THE TAKING OF MILITARY
MEASURES UNDER ARTICLE 42 OF THE CHARTER, THAT IS TO
SAY TO A DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WITHOUT
SPEAKING OF THE PRECEDENTS WHICH THAT COULD CONSTITUTE,
AND WHICH COULD BE INVOKED IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH COULD
TROUBLE US CONSIDERABLY. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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